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A SEASON OF OMINOUS CALM

Little Rock exclusive: Let us work it out, the kids tell adults

By Louis E. Burnham
Guardian staff correspondent

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

LITTLE ROCK'S four high schools—three white and one Negro—were closed to almost 4,000 students on Sept. 15 as Gov. Orval Faubus' shut-down order took effect without challenge from the Federal government. An uneasy stalemate settled on the city and it was anybody's guess when classes would be resumed.

Faubus—invoking the powers granted him by a recent special session of the state legislature—had called for an Oct. 7 special election in the school district to enable the voters to decide whether Little Rock will abide by the Supreme Court ruling ordering integration.

The results of the election seemed a foregone conclusion. The law requires approval of integration by a majority of qualified voters, which numbers an estimated 40,000 in the district. Normally, no more than 7-8,000 voters take part in school elections. In addition, Faubus' powerful state machine may be expected to turn out the segregationist vote, while the pro-integration sentiment, though substantial, is largely unorganized in both white and Negro communities.

WAITING GAME: It was expected, therefore, that the governor would play a waiting game until Oct. 7. Given a "victory" in the elections, he is likely to invoke another newly-passed enactment empowering him to re-open the schols as "private" institutions on a jimcrow basis.

Hope that the Federal government would move to restore integration before the special election waned as Federal District Judge John Miller left a conference with Dept. of Justice lawyers with the announcement that they seemed to have no plans for immediate legal action. Faubus apparently blocked the main avenue of Federal counter-measures when he accepted a subpena served on behalf of a white parent, wife of a city fireman, calling for an injunction against the closure order. This placed the controversy in litigation in state courts and out of the immediate reach of Federal authorities.

Some observers clung to the expectation that a battery of Justice Dept. lawyears, working around he clock under

(Continued on Page 4)

WOULD THE WALLS COME TUMBLIN' DOWN IF HE WENT TO SCHOOL? *They didn't last year when Jefferson Thomas (r.), shown with his father, went to Central High in Little Rock. For a story on how the Negro community feels about this year's developments, see Louis Burnham's on the scene report on p. 4.*

TALKS OPEN IN WARSAW

China crisis pushed near shooting war

By Kumar Goshal

WASHINGTON LAST WEEK flexed its muscles dangerously close to the shores of the Chinese mainland. Instead of holding Chiang Kai-shek on the leash while Peking's forces halted their bombardment of Quemoy to facilitate negotiations, U.S. naval and air forces took advantage of the lull to escort Chiang's ships to within slingshot distance of the mainland in an effort to deliver military supplies to the Quemoy garrison.

Peking renewed the bombardment and forced the supply ships to withdraw. The situation became explosive as U.S. military advisory teams boarded Chiang's ships running the blockade of Quemoy. The world anxiously looked to Warsaw and New York for some sign of sanity.

On Sept. 15, in a mansion in Warsaw's Lazienki Park, U.S. Ambassador Jacob D. Beam and Chinese Ambassador Wang Ping-nan opened negotiations on the Far East crisis. On the following day in New York the UN General Assembly began its thirteenth session, with an agenda that included India's perennial proposal for UN recognition of Peking's right to China's seat. Neither in Warsaw nor in New York did the chances of U.S. recognition of Peking's rights seem very promising.

NO ALLIES: Statements made by Secy. Dulles and President Eisenhower just before the Warsaw talks opened indicated that Washington did not intend to negotiate anything short of Peking's unconditional surrender to its policies. At his Sept. 9 press conference Dulles dismissed the fact that none of America's allies supported his policies; said the U.S. could not negotiate the future of Quemoy and other offshore islands because they were "property it does not own and which belongs to another and friendly [Chiang] government"; airily suggested that the Peking government will "sooner or later" disappear.

N.Y. *Times* Washington bureau chief James Reston said that Dulles practically told Americans "it was their job, with or without allies, to use force" to hold Quemoy and "stamp out the crime of Communist aggression in the Pacific." He added:

"Here, then, is a 'Dulles Doctrine' to be added to the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine and the Eisenhower Doctrine. And in the long story of the United States' mounting world commit-

(Continued on Page 9)

INDEPENDENT-SOCIALISTS CHALLENGED

Tammany moves to keep new party off N.Y. ballot

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY machine in New York has launched a three-pronged attack aimed at barring from the state ballot in November the new Independent-Socialist Party ticket headed by Dr. Corliss Lamont for U.S. Senator and John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN for Governor.

Nearly 27,000 petition signatures were filed for the ticket Sept. 9. Within the ensuing three-day challenge period, challenges were filed by attorney Andrew M. Pinckney of Albany, holder of a $13,000 job with the Harriman administration as counsel to the Hudson River Regulating District; former Democratic assemblyman Monroe Goldwater of New York, a law partner of the late N.Y. Democratic boss Ed Flynn; and Herman Block of Rochester.

OTHER CHALLENGES: The same trio challenged the 16,000 petition signatures filed by the Socialist Labor Party for a ticket headed by Eric Haas for Governor and Stephen Emery for U.S. Senator.

In the 21st Senatorial District of New York City, the Democratic incumbent State Senator James Watson challenged almost 6,000 signatures filed by N.Y. State Communist Party leader Benjamin J. Davis to meet a 3,000 signature requirement as the Peoples Rights Party candidate. Davis, a former N.Y. City Councilman, waged a stirring campaign in the Harlem district to boost the signature effort.

MORE COLD WAR: The challengers had six days in which to specify the grounds for the challenges. The new party prepared to oppose the maneuvers in the courts, and in a press statement characterized the challenges as "a transparent attempt by the De Sapio machine to invalidate offhand the over 26,000 signatures which we submitted—more than twice the legally required number." De Sapio, the N.Y. Secretary of State with whom the petitions were filed, is also the head of New York City Tammany machine and dominated the recent Democratic State Convention in Buffalo.

The Independent-Socialist Party claimed at least 75 valid signatures in each of the state's 62 counties to meet a minimum requirement of 50 per county, and well over the legal requirement of 12,000 valid signatures throughout the state as a whole. The challenges were called an attempt by "the cold-war Democratic state organization to prevent the people of New York from recording a protest vote against the fantastic and dangerous U.S. intervention in the Quemoy Island dispute."

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THE MAIL BAG

Why not?

BELLHAVEN, N.C.
Dear President Eisenhower:

Why not set up a system of free Federal schools open to all Americans, black, white, brown, red or yellow, to replace those closed in the desegregation controversy? Why not act as fast as the Arkansas legislature to make education free to everybody right on through the university level, as in Soviet Russia?

In this struggle, at least, the Government has been right, for the Government has stood for brotherhood, and the resistance forces have stood against brotherhood.

Vernon Ward

Two sisters

UPLAND, CALIF.

The "front paging" of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek reminds us of that scum-of-humanity, Chiang, which in turn, reminds us of our utter stupidity in not recognizing REAL and FREE China—free from our Western-world exploitation.

Would it not be proper to recall that Mme. Chiang's sister, Mme. Sun Yat Sen, is not only the leading lady in China today but the wife of the prime mover in putting China up where she is today?

Franklin Baxter

Again in Denver?

DENVER, COLO.

Seven defendants of the Smith Act conspiracy section in Denver are being scheduled to go to trial again sometime in October or November. We find it so hard to register in our minds that the Justice Dept. is stubborn enough to maintain its decision to retry our case in the face of such strong court decisions that adherence to abstract doctrine is not a crime as long as there are no "acts" inciting people to action.

The court is now in the process of appointing counsel to represent us. However, many efforts locally and nationally are being made by way of letters and conferences with the Justice Dept. to drop the case before trial date. We are still urging people to write to Attorney General William P. Rogers, Washington, D. C.

Anna Correa

Revolution by ballot

PUEBLO, COLO.

According to economist Roger Babson, President Eisenhower insists that if "the people of Iraq had voted peacefully to depose their king no U.S. Marines would be in Lebanon today."

What a remarkable deduction for the President to make, and for Mr. Babson to support! Following this line of reasoning, our Revolutionary War was unnecessary!—Now if we had just thought to have brought those controversial issues to a free, democratic, vote . . .

Paul Stewart

On Howard Fast

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

I wish to register my protest against the slander on the part of the GUARDIAN against Howard Fast since he published **The Naked God.**

I specifically wish to take issue with Cedric Belfrage's statement that the writing of this book was an act of "betrayal" on the part of Fast. In my opinion the writers guilty of betrayal were those who knew the facts of the frame-ups, tortures and executions but did not write denunciations of them. As yet the GUARDIAN has not published an objective review of the book. James Aronson's so-called review was no more than a slanderous personal attack upon Fast.

I think the most important demand upon any writer is that he tell the truth and this, I believe, is what Fast has done.

Walter Lambert

In his review of Herschel Meyer's History & Conscience, *Belfrage wrote: "Other progressives . . . will call for an analysis (which Meyer does not attempt) of the continuing blindness toward the instability of a Fast until after he himself exposes it in an act of betrayal." GUARDIAN reviewers do not indulge in slander.*—Editor.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TULSA, Okla., Sept. 11 (AP)—Meade Alcorn, Republican National Chairman, said tonight such problems as Little Rock, the Goldfine hearings and Middle East crisis are "making, not breaking, the strength of our party."

"We have withstood. we have overcome each and we are emerging today a stronger and basically a better party," he said.

—N.Y. **Herald Tribune, 9/12**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R.W., New York, N.Y.

'The Sane Society'

LYNN, MASS.

GUARDIAN editors and readers should take a long and searching look at Erich Fromm's **The Sane Society.** Presenting a devastating picture of the inhumanity and destructiveness of capitalism, at the same time it shows the same tendencies at work in the Soviet Union. He shows how this stems from an outlook which emphasizes man's economic needs, but which at the same time neglects man's spiritual and personal needs.

This is not only true of socialist thinking in the Soviet Union, but of the U.S. also, where the CP newspaper does not even recognize such a basic right as a dissenting viewpoint; i.e. The Worker's not printing some ads of the United Socialist ticket. Finally, it is true of the GUARDIAN, whose pages are filled with economic and political news, and almost never a story about man.

Reader

S—as in Trotzky

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

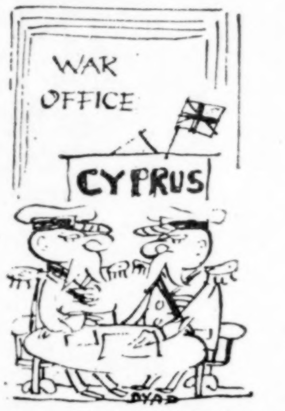
In behalf of the School of International Socialism, I submitted an advertisement to the Calendar of the GUARDIAN. The copy read that Milton Wolfe would conduct a class on the "History of American Trotskyism." In the Sept. 8 issue I find that the spelling has been altered to "Trotzkyism." For the School, as well as myself, I want to convey to you my indignation and register a strong protest.

English-speaking Trotskyists have never used a "z" in Trotsky, nor does the English transliteration of the Russian word for Trotsky indicate the use of a "z." The only Western languages that put a "z" in Trotsky's name are German and Yiddish which transcribe the Russian into "Trotzki." The use of "Trotzky" in the English language smacks of anti-semitism, the attempt to give the name a Jewish, and therefore outlandish and invidious flavor. For this reason, it has been used consistently by Fascist and Stalinist elements. (Forgive the amalgam, please.) The fact remains that Trotsky is a Russian name. I am sure your readers would be amazed if your publication began to refer to "Chruschtschow" rather than "Khrushchev." Yet the former is the correct transliteration of the Russian name into German and Yiddish—but not into English!

We American Trotskyists celebrate the 30th anniversary of our existence in the U.S. this year. For over a quarter of a century we have been the most maligned, slandered and misunderstood section of the radical movement. Is it not time that radicals learned to respect each other as persons and legitimate tendencies in spite of inevitable disagreements over this, that, and the other issue? One of the first signs of common courtesy if not respect, even in the capitalist world, is to spell one's name correctly. Please, spell our name with an "s" not a "z."

Theodore Edwards,
Educational Director, L.A.

According to Nathan Trotzky, New York caterer whose family once conducted its business and ran a restaurant in the Broadway Central Hotel, the young revolutionary Bronstein frequented their restaurant, wrote tracts at their tables and took his revolutionary name from this association. We have brought our printer up to date on the subsequent change from "z" to "s."—Editor.



Dyad in London Worker

"Gad sir—aren't we good enough for them?"

The Killian defense

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

We wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to the many people who replied to my letters of Aug. 11. Although the contributions we have received were from people of modest means, we feel much heartened by the response.

We are now faced with the problem of raising $1,200 for the printing of the trial record by Sept. 10th. As the wonderful readers of your newspaper must know by this time, justice is very expensive. If the money is not raised, the chances of winning on an appeal are limited and the possibility of going to the Supreme Court nil.

We are therefore again appealing for support in the defense of the rights of the individual. Please send contributions to Herman Kuehne, Chrm. Killian Defense Committee, 233 W. Greenfield Av., Milwaukee 4, Wis.

Thank you again.

Gloria M. Killian

Do what you can

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Too many say, "Well, we pay our public servants to run things." Or, "I don't know anything about such things, and I wouldn't know what to do." Or, "What good would it do? They will do just what they like and they wouldn't pay any attention to my suggestions."

It would be helpful if we had a lot of reprints of Edwin Everett Hale's **A Resolution**:

"I am only one
But still I am one,
I cannot do everything
But still I can do something.
And because I cannot do everything,
I will not refuse to do something that I can do."

M. L. Kellogg

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REPORT TO READERS

The devil's madness

A GREAT MAN died Sept. 11 in Lancieux, France, but the obituaries did not recall some of his greatest works. He was Robert W. Service, the British-born author and versifier of "The Shooting of Dan McGrew," "The Cremation of Sam McGee" and books of verse from the Gold Rush days with titles like **The Call of the Yukon** and **Bar-Room Ballads.**

But Bob Service had another side to him. He hated war. He went to live in France in 1912 and then World War I surrounded him.

"War is murder," he wrote at the time. "Criminal folly. Against Humanity. Imperialism is at the root of it. We are fools and dupes . . ."

SERVICE BECAME an ambulance driver in that war. His verses from that period were in a different vein. There was "Bonehead Bill," the British Tommy who mused after killing a German:

"I wonder if account o' me
Some wench will go unwed . . ."

And "Kelly of the Legion," the peace-loving Irishman who died leading a French assault; and "The Three Tommies," a painter, a composer and a writer: "Their bodies are empty bodies; Death has guzzled the wine."

AND THEN, AFTER THE WAR, came "Michael." We of the GUARDIAN might not have known of "Michael" nor looked into Service's collected works for his other anti-war poems, had it not been for the repertory of a singer of songs in our time, Martha Schlamme. Miss Schlamme sings "Michael" to an arrangement by the brother of her accompanist, Tanya Gould. Here it is:

MICHAEL

"There's something in your face, Michael, I've seen it all the day;
There's something quare that wasn't there when first ye wint away. . . ."

"It's just the Army life, mother, the drill, the left and right,
That puts the stiffnin' in yer spine and locks yer jaw up tight. . . ."

"There's something in your eyes, Michael, an' how they stare and stare—
You're lookin' at me now, me boy, as if I wasn't there. . . . "

"It's just the things I've seen, mother, the sights that come and come,
A bit o' broken, bloody pulp that used to be a chum. . . ."

"There's something on your heart, Michael, that makes ye wake at night,
And often when I hear ye moan, I trimble in me fright. . . ."

"It's just a man I killed, mother, a mother's son like me;
It seems he's always hauntin' me, he'll never let me be. . . ."

"But maybe he was bad, Michael, maybe it was right
To kill the inimy you hate in fair and honest fight. . . ."

"I did not hate at all, mother; he never did me harm;
I think he was a lad like me, who worked upon a farm. . . ."

"And what's it all about, Michael; why did you have to go,
A quiet peaceful lad like you, and we were happy so? . . . "

"It's thim that's up above, mother, it's thim that sits and rules;
We've got to fight the wars they make, it's us as are the fools . . . "

"And what will be the end, Michael, and what's the use, I say,
Of fightin' if whoever wins it's us that's got to pay? . . ."

"O, it will be the end, mother, when lads like him and me,
That sweat to feed the ones above, decide that we'll be free. . . ."

"And when will that day come, Michael, and when will fightin' cease,
And simple folks may till their soil and live and love in peace? . . ."

"It's coming soon and soon, mother, it's nearer every day,
When only men who work and sweat will have a word to say;
When all who earn their honest bread in every land and soil
Will claim the Brotherhood of Man, the Comradeship of Toil;
When we, the Workers, all demand: 'What are we fighting for?' . . .
Then, then we'll end that stupid crime, the devil's madness—War."

ROBERT SERVICE did not consider himself a poet. "I'm not a poetry man," he once said. "I've just written a lot of verses." It was a poet who wrote "Michael," a poet with a yearning for peace.

—THE GUARDIAN

TRIAL SET FOR OCTOBER 13

U.S. acts to bar evidence in Powell-Schuman case

SAN FRANCISCO
Special to the Guardian

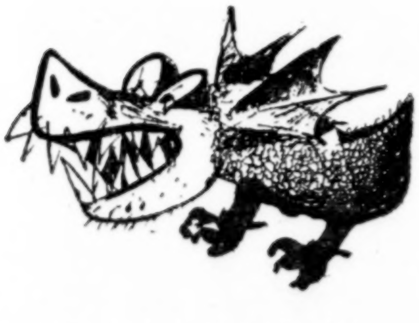
FACED WITH the prospect of publicly airing some of its Korean records in the Powell-Schuman sedition case, the government has decided to drop some of its charges "in the interests of national security."

On the eve of the trial, originally set for Sept. 22, the government announced it would not offer evidence on some major charges in its original 13-count indictment. After 2½ years, Washington apparently decided that it had no case regarding the falsity of the defendants' statements concerning alleged U.S. aggression in Korea, stalling of the Panmunjom peace confrences, and preparation for germ warfare. The trial is now scheduled to begin Oct. 13.

Observers here view this latest action as leaving the prosecution free to deal with charges where the defense is unable to obtain vital evidence from China and North Korea. At the same time, it enables the government to avoid having to face the defense where the evidence is obtainable in this country. The government decision follows the defense's attempt to secure from government agencies by subpena such material as the transcript of the Korean truce talks, Central Intelligence Agency records concerning aid to Chinese Nationalist forces in Burma and documents related to American intervention in the Chinese civil war.

ON GERM WARFARE: Chief points remaining in the indictment, about which the defendants are accused of having written falsely, deal with the carrying out of germ warfare and American casualties in Korea.

Items which the government will not introduce evidence on include these:



- "That since VJ day, Japanese war criminals have been turned into experts and have been working for the Americans in developing bacteriological warfare."
- That Gen. Omar Bradley told a secret session of the Senate Armed Services Committee the U.S. had a "spectacular" plan to end the Korean fighting "on the eve of the launching of germ warfare."

The defendants were accused of having lied when they published these statements. As a result of the government action Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman dismissed Count 9 in the indictment.

THE BACKGROUND: In the case against three Americans who reported from China during the Korean fighting, recent tension over the off-shore Chinese islands has added one more ingredient to the government potion brewed since April, 1956.

Charging sedition because of what appeared in an American owned and edited magazine, founded in China in 1917, during the Korean action, the indictment against John W. Powell, his wife, Sylvia, and Julian Schuman, raises a new and vital issue for independent journals in the light of recent events involving U.S. forces in the Middle-East and Far-East. The issue is this: When is it safe to criticize the government and its officials? The magazine, the **China Monthly Review**, was openly critical of American policy toward China before and after Chiang Kai-shek quit the mainland, and it considered the Korean action as against the interests of the American people. The case is the first in which the right to criticize official policy is questioned under a newly elasticized Sedition Act. The penalty upon conviction is 20 years in prison and $10,000 fine on each count.

STUMBLING BLOCK: From the start, the defendants have been prosecuted by the Justice Dept. and held at bay by the State Dept. In the 2½-year battle to gain evidence many legal points have been argued—for example: Was Korea a war or a police action? Defense attorney A. L. Wirin became the first American to be granted a passport to travel to Red China where he tracked down available witnesses. Thousands of dollars were spent in and out of court. But State Dept. refusal to sign an agreement with the Chinese government is preventing 1,000 willing witnesses from coming to court to testify for the defense.

JOHN AND SYLVIA POWELL
For freedom of the press

In a statement more than two years ago, the American Civil Liberties Union saw the case as a "serious threat to fundamental liberties." With an eye to the future it said that if the defendants who reported on the fighting in Korea were convicted then, "editors cannot be expected to publish anything which differs from the official view, if they can do so only by risking 20 years' imprisonment if a jury, swayed by the passion and intolerance of war-time, should make adverse finding as to the editor's 'intent.'"

Funds are urgently needed for what promises to be a long and expensive trial. Contributions may be sent to the Powell-Schuman Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco 1, Calif.

APPEAL REJECTED

Protests mount in Wilson case

JIMMY WILSON, the 55-year-old Negro sentenced to death for stealing $1.95 from a white woman, was denied a rehearing last week by the Alabama Supreme Court. His execution in the electric chair has been set for Oct. 24.

Wilson was turned down as protests continued to pour in from all parts of the world. Among the most recent was that of Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral in London who called on every Christian in Britain to protest so that the American people might not "commit a crime against human decency."

Wilson's brothers last week hired Fred Gray, attorney for the NAACP which is outlawed in Alabama. Gray said he would have to choose from three possible courses: (1) Ask the State Supreme Court for permission to introduce new evidence in a lower trial court; (2) file a writ of habeas corpus charging that Wilson had been illegally detained at the Atmore, Ala., prison farm; (3) appeal directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

If all else fails Gray will appeal for clemency to Gov. James E. Folsom who has hinted that he might commute the sentence to life imprisonment. If the legal steps should be spun out beyond Jan. 1, when Folsom's term expires, a clemency decision would be up to incoming Gov. John Patterson who has given no clue as to his feelings on the case.

WASHINGTON

How Ike's forces killed the housing bill

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

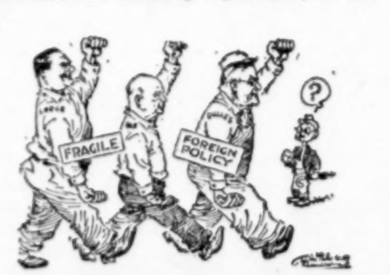
WASHINGTON

SEN. JOHN SPARKMAN (D-Ala.), patron of housing legislation in the Senate, waited expectantly during the last hectic hours of the 85th Congress for a compromise that would keep the nation's housing program moving until a new Congress should meet in January. Never since the early days of the New Deal had a Congress adjourned without doing something for housing.

In the House, Rep. Albert Rains (D-Ala.) waited with a compromise bill that could have passed both Houses without delay if Administration forces were to accept it. As against the 6-year-program authorizing possible expenditures estimated at $4,400,000,000 which passed the Senate, the Rains bill called for a shorter program and expenditures of about $2,900,000,000. The Democrats were willing to make even more substantial compromises.

But Administration forces refused to settle. They were standing firmly on a bill introduced by Rep. Edgar W. Hiestand (R-Calif.), which carried $200,000,000 for slum clearance and $200,000,000 for college housing—$400,000,000 in all. They sent word to Sparkman that this was all they would yield.

But Sparkman could not accept this declaration. He did not believe the Republicans would let the Congress adjourn without some housing legislation, in the face of serious unemployment. Upon previous occasions each side had yielded to compromise. Late on the night of Aug. 23, as last minute measures were rushed through Congress, each side waited tensely for the opposition to soften.



Chicago Daily Tribune
The men with a pane of plate glass

VAST INTERESTS INVOLVED: Supporting Sparkman was the Natl. Housing Conference composed of citizens' groups anxious to obtain adequate low-cost housing. Included were unions, cooperatives, city officials concerned with slum clearance, and professional housing experts in virtually every population center.

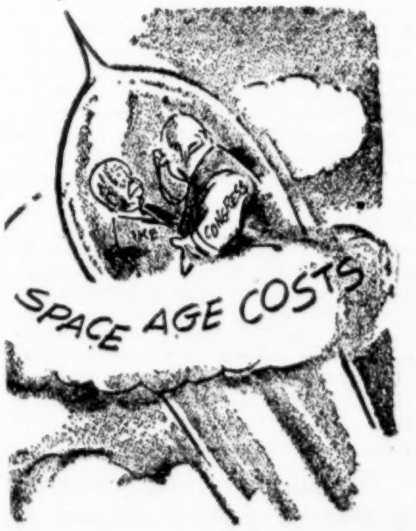
Behind the Republican forces were the great money lenders of the nation and some local real estate boards. They wished to stem the stream of Treasury money going into housing at interest rates that were competing with private money—helping to keep down the cost of housing to low-income families. These were the great insurance companies, mortgage bankers, and others with surplus funds seeking profitable investment.

TENSION HIGH: As Congress neared adjournment most Congressmen had plane tickets for home in their pockets. As midnight neared and the minutes ticked off the tension mounted. Each side more than half expected the other would give in. But neither yielded, and when midnight arrived they knew no action would be taken. Finally, the House adjourned—and there was no housing bill.

The Democrats today are estimating that the rigid stand of the Administration will cost Republicans at least 20 seats in the House in the November elections.

In the week that followed adjournment the President took two steps which affected the housing program. He released $100,000,000 from a reserve fund for slum clearance, which with $54 million available from last year's funds will keep the program going at a slower pace until a new Congress meets.

He also ordered a virtual end to a $1,000,000,000 lending program under which the Federal Natl. Mortgage Assn. has made commitments to purchase at par about $700,000,000 of mortgages of not more than $13,500 in value each. A new schedule for purchasing at reduced prices has been published. The par purchases produced "easy" mortgage money at interest rates below the market. This above everything else in the Sparkman bill was what the mortgage bankers disliked. It was cutting drastically into their profits.



Burck in Chicago Sun-Times
"Well, anyway—we're gaining altitude."

FAILED BY SIX VOTES: Housing, like agriculture, is a field in which government financial aid is required. In the case of agriculture, it is the producer who requires assistance to protect him from the ravages of a free market. In the case of housing, it is the consumer. Private initiative appears to be unable to supply sufficient slum clearance and adequate housing for lower-income groups.

The Sparkman bill, which passed the Senate, was kept from a vote in the House simply because Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), Chairman of the House Rules Committee, didn't like it. Speaker Sam Rayburn asked for suspension of the rules, but the House voted down his request. The tally lacked six votes of the required two-thirds majority.

Little Rock: Mood of the embattled Negroes

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

THERE'S AN OLD NEGRO SPIRITUAL in which the singer, recalling the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, asks the question: "Tell me, how did you feel when you come out the wilderness?"

The battling and embattled Negro community of Little Rock is not yet, by a long shot, out of the wilderness of segregation, but it feels itself a big step closer to the promised land of equality. Its mood, therefore, is a curious one—precariously balanced somewhere between quiet elation and an almost secret apprehension.

The joy is easily explained. The Supreme Court's Sept. 12 decision ordering a continuation of integration at Central High school without delay ended weeks of fear that the Federal government would somehow capitulate to Gov. Faubus and the segregationists. The presence in the city of 150 U.S. marshalls would seem to indicate that the Dept. of Justice means business this time and that anybody who tries to keep Negro students out of Central will be punished.

IT WILL HAVE TO MOVE: But that is not the whole picture. Faubus' act in closing the schools has put the matter right back where it was before—in the courts, and the state courts at that. The next move was up to Washington and Negroes recall that the Administration, though it may move when its hand is forced, has been notoriously short on initiative on the integration question.

In a community with racial tensions simmering dangerously close to the surface of everyday life, Negroes are watching and waiting. As one observer put it, "We can't stay on this middle ground long. The situation will have to be cleared up or messed up."

Mrs. Daisy Bates, NAACP state president, moves constantly among her people, encouraging, stimulating, counselling. The day before the schools did not open she warned an audience of followers to beware of the segregationists' efforts to provoke strife. "They're going to try to create an atmosphere for bloodshed," she said. "If they can get us to lose our temper all the suffering of the children in the past year will be in vain."

ARKANSAS 1957
4875
OF OPPORTUNITY

THEY SAY IT CANNOT BE

ARKANSAS BEFORE CHINA: It was clear she was not advising meekness, but rather seeking to deprive the racists of an argument they are anxious to prove: that integration in the deep South must lead to violence. Short of violence, however, Negroes are prepared to fight militantly for equal education in common schools. And, said Mrs. Bates, "I'd rather fight here than in a fox hole in China."

The evidence of her fight—and its toll—remains at her home in the form of a broken picture window held together with masking tape and now protected by a metal grill. Last year it was smashed by hoodlums who drove by in a car, threw stones and sped away. Later, another group was intercepted two blocks from her home with enough dynamite to blow up the entire neighborhood. But Mrs. Bates goes on, without apparent fear and with undiminished zeal. She will replace the broken picture window "later," when things quiet down and the battle is more nearly won.

As in all battles, there must be moments of respite. So it was that a happy, strongly partisan audience of youth and adults turned out to see two Negro high schools—Little Rock's Horace Mann and North Little Rock's Scipio Jones—open the football season on Sept. 14. The talk was mainly of one team's lack of passers and the other's poor punters, but during intermission little groups discussed "the question" in a serious-jocular way. One fan asked another how his governor was getting along. "My governor?" came back the answer. "Yes, yours; you know, he ain't none of mine."

A GIRL IN THE CHOIR: And on Sunday the city was bathed in the bright September Southern sun. The churches were full in the morning and at Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church a lovely girl sat with other members of the junior choir. Her name was Melba Patillo and, unless you knew, there was no way to tell that she was one of the Tender Warriors who braved the taunts and attacks of a little band of white supremacists at Central last year.

It was youth day at the church and eventually Melba came down from the choir stall to welcome the visitors on behalf of the young people. She wants to be an actress. For a moment she stood, alert, self-assured, charming. Then she spoke simply, warmly and briefly, her words coming in rather quick bursts. Later she mingled outside the church with friends, chatted, and then went off to spend a normal Sunday. As she left we wondered at the mentality that regards this vibrant youngster as "inferior," and called a cab to return to the hotel.

The license plate bore the legend: Arkansas—Land of Opportunity.

—**Louis E. Burnham**

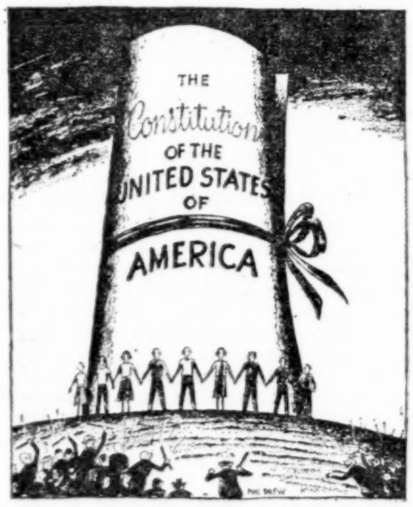
Little Rock story

(Continued from Page 1)

Asst. U.S. Atty. Gen. Malcolm R. Wilkey, would nevertheless find a way to reopen the schools immediately. Others, less sanguine about the pace at which the Administration habitually moves on questions of civil rights, depended on local public sentiment to break the stalemate. As one parent put it: "The longer the children stay out of school, the better the chance the whole situation will backfire in Faubus' face."

STUDENTS SPEAK: The city's two daily newspapers—the **Gazette** and the **Democrat**—carried evidence of widespread dissatisfaction with the school closing. Wendell Ross, Central High senior and president of the student body, told the **Gazette**: "I hope that Gov. Faubus will open [Central High] either as a public or private school." When asked what would happen if the whole matter were left to the students, he replied: "I really believe that we would go back to Central High School regardless of whether Negroes attended."

Don A. Smith, student body president at all-white Hall High said: "I wish we could go ahead and start. We've been delayed so long and everybody is ready to start." For his part, he said, "it doesn't make any difference to me whether I have a Negro in the same school with me."



Phil Drew in the ILWU Dispatcher
THE COURAGEOUS CHILDREN

Virginia: No integration

THIS WAS the picture in Virginia as the school term opened: The high school in Front Royal, Warren County, remained closed on the scheduled opening day under orders of Gov. J. Lindsay Almond. A Federal District Court had ordered the school to admit 22 Negro applicants. In Charlottesville two white schools are under court order to admit 12 Negro children when they open Sept. 22. The Governor was expected to close those schools as well. In Arlington, just outside Washington, schools opened strictly segregated, while a Federal District Court still considered the situation in the light of the Supreme Court's action on Little Rock. There, and in Norfolk as well, District Court rulings were expected shortly.

* * *

Sixteen-year-old Larry Taylor, a Baptist minister-student at Central, told the **Democrat**: "My education is the most important thing to me now and I would gladly go to Central on an integrated basis. The majority of students would not have caused any trouble last year, even though a majority of them probably prefer segregation."

CLASSES BY TV? In recognition of a growing sentiment in the white community that some integration may be preferable to no education, School Board member Dr. Dale Alford called upon parents not to "panic" and put forth a plan to carry class lectures and assignments in major subjects on Little Rock's three TV stations. For those homes which may not have TV sets he suggested the children might take their video lessons in church centers.

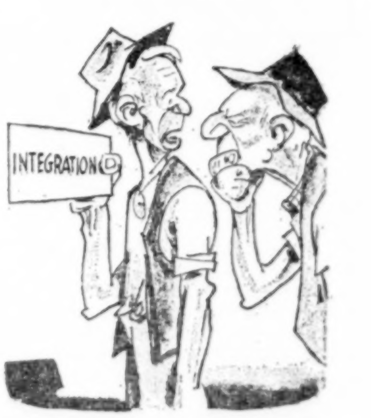
Several Negro leaders expressed the opinion that Faubus was near the end of his rope and that the tide would soon turn against him. They emphasized that Little Rock had always been one of the "better" Deep South cities for Negroes and that there would have been no integration crisis if the governor had not provoked it with the use of National Guard troops last year.

Bishop O. L. Sherman of the African Methodist Episcopal Church told the GUARDIAN: "When Faubus says he's carrying out the will of the people he's misrepresenting the truth. This whole thing has been born out of politics. I personally asked the governor what was his attitude on integration. He pointed out that there is integration at the University of Arkansas, in Hoxie and a few other places and then asked me: "Do you think integration could have proceeded there if the governor had opposed it?" But then he decided he wanted a third term and got together with a little political group and made this the main issue. It's the boldest States' Rights venture since the Civil War and I don't know where he thinks it's going to get him."

OPEN THE DOOR: Pointing to the anti-segregation sentiment among white groups, especially in the churches, Bishop Sherman deplored the fact that it is not more vocal. He mentioned white ministers who had told him that if any of their members joined in Faubus' "insurrection" they would be put out of the church. "Why, even now," he said, "if Faubus were to recant and say we must obey the laws of this country, this rebellion would evaporate overnight."

Asked how long he felt it would take for integration to prevail throughout the South, Bishop Sherman replied: "On the basis of the gradual pace that's been maintained so far, it won't happen in my day; maybe yours, but not mine. I don't favor this gradual business. I think if it's unconstitutional to segregate they ought to order outright integration now. Just open the door and let all who are eligible go. And if it's unlawful to segregate, there ought to be a penalty for those who do. Otherwise people lose respect for the law. If there were no penalty attached, everybody'd be running through red lights and then we'd be in a terrible situation."

Perhaps Bishop Sherman put his finger on the terrible situation Arkansas finds itself in today.



Burck in Chicago Sun-Times
"That's a mighty long word to learn in only four and a half years."

* * *

The special role of the press

DETECTIVE STORIES, TV SHOWS and magazine articles throw their weight on the side of the police against the accused. The accused, if he is prominent, has counsel and other means of getting the full protection of the Bill of Rights The accused, if lowly, has no spokesman or protector. Yet the Bill of Rights was designed to protect all our people against overreaching by police, prosecutors, and judges. The Bill of Rights tells us that when government puts its hand on the citizen it must do so only in a discreet and civilized way and have just cause to act.

The press, therefore, has a special role in telling and retelling the story as to why it is that the Fifth Amendment was designed to protect the innocent as well as the guilty, that the Fourth was aimed to preserve the privacy of all homes, those of the lowly as well as those of the mighty, that the First was aimed at giving the non-conformist the same opportunity for freedom of expression as the orthodox.

—Justice William O. Douglas, speaking at the Fifth Annual Benjamin Franklin Magazine Awards presentation in New York.

UNITY BEFORE SEPT. 28 VOTE?

Stage is set in France for anti-Gaullist drive

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

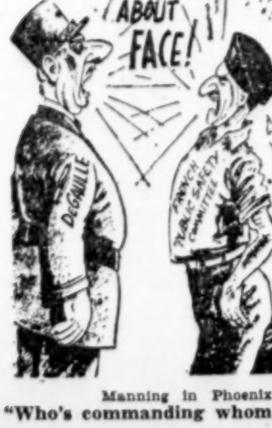
AFTER a three-month-long monologue by de Gaulle and only isolated and separate undertakings by the Left, the door opened at last for a united left-wing "No" campaign against de Gaulle in the Sept. 28 plebiscite.

Two important events marked the opening of the election campaign in the first week of September. On Sept. 4, while de Gaulle presented his Constitution to a select and carefully sifted audience in the Place de la République, many thousands of anti-Gaullist "No"-sayers massed in near-by streets and made more than a show of presence despite police harassments. In the spirit of the unforgotten anti-Fascist May 28 parade, they showed they were not willing to give in to official Gaullist radio, TV and press seductions and threats. For the first time since de Gaulle's coming to power on June 1, they could count themselves and measure their strength.

The day after, in an over-crowded, enthusiastic press conference, former Premier Pierre Mendès-France went beyond announcing his intention to vote "No" in the plebiscite. After a concise analysis of the new Constitution and the de Gaulle government's action up to now, he took the step long needed on the Left: He made a proposition to all opponents, and offered a program of positive, constructive action in the event their "No's" should win in the plebiscite. The proposition and the program was open to all who wanted to join it. Mendès-France's proposal laid the ground at last for a broad and successful "No" campaign.

THE HARD SELL: For three months, the country has been swept by a publicity drive mapped [illegible] by de Gaulle's master propagandist [illegible]dré Malraux, using the whole arsenal of Fascist and pre-Fascist methods: lies, intimidation, and threats. Most Frenchmen were on vacation, when they were allergic to political propaganda. Nevertheless, they are being fed continuous praise and glorification of the new government, coupled with warnings that voting "No" on Sept. 28 would be a catastrophe. The Gaullists have placed their men firmly in radio and TV, and have most of the press well in hand.

The opposition, so far, besides the Communist press and organizations, counted the same few liberal papers, **Le Monde, Express, France Observateur,** some provincial dailies, among them the Toulouse **Depeche du Midi** headed by a Mendésist radical; and a few small political and professional groups like the League of Rights of Man, the Union of Democratic Forces (grouping non-CP "No"-sayers) and certain teachers' unions. The "No" campaign got off to a slow and divided start, lacking momentum and originality and, above all, unity and a positive, constructive program.


ATTEN SHUN!
AS YOU WERE!
ABOUT FACE!
DeGAULLE
FRENCH PUBLIC SAFETY COMMITTEE

Manning in Phoenix Republic
"Who's commanding whom?"

The left-of-center groups were once again scared by an old bogeyman. The anti-Gaullists in the Socialist Party were afraid of Gen. Jacques Massu and his Fascists; but they were more afraid still of Maurice Thorez. Faced with this false choice (the real choice today is between fascism and democracy), some chose Massu with a sigh; others decided to keep clear of both and carry on a solitary "No" campaign.

EMERGING TRUTH: Yet one truth was becoming clear: If a "No" campaign could not be won by the CP alone, neither could it be successfully waged without the CP. The first over-all inter-left-wing dialogue was opened in **Express** in late August by Jean-Pierre Vigier, a leading CP member and well-known scientist. Vigier in his article touched upon the two points that most alarmed the non-CP Left about a possible all-left-wing alliance, and gave absolute CP guarantees in favor of civil liberties and a continued multi-party system in case of a coalition left-wing victory. (The Vigier article was called "the first sign of a resurrection of the French Left" by progressive Catholic writer Francois Mauriac, a de Gaulle supporter last May but beginning to show grave political doubts in his weekly **Express** column.)

DE GAULLE IN AFRICA
A hard sell for his constitution

The Mendès-France proposal has not only opened the way for left-wing opposition groups to unfreeze and get together for an efficient, united "No" campaign. By outflanking certain "Yes"-saying SP leaders, it cannot but sow revolt among part of the SP leadership (there is a great deal of local indignation against SP secy. Guy Mollet's Gaullist conversion) and get broad SP rank-and-file support. No matter how the CP, for tactical reasons, will react to the Mendès-France proposal, once a united left-wing "No" campaign gets under way it will snow-ball.

Although the issue of the plebiscite is the new Constitution—its merits and faults exhaustively explained by Gaullists and anti-Gaullists—few ordinary citizens are equipped to participate in the constitutional argument. (It is one of the many dishonesties of the plebiscite that it pretends to consult all citizens—and among them millions of illiterate Africans—on a complex legal text requiring a political or legal background to evaluate). The plebiscite in fact is going to be simply a vote for or against de Gaulle and those surrounding him.

THE MYTHS: As in most elections, besides those who have already made up their minds, the great mass of still undecided voters will decide the outcome, or at least the measure of success of the plebiscite. Among them, a good many "with their heart in the Left" had half decided to vote for de Gaulle because they had read into his silences and his mystical statements a certain number of noble if as yet hidden intentions:

- De Gaulle will end the Algerian war.
- De Gaulle will put new men into new places, and definitely break with governmental sins of the past.
- De Gaulle will bring on a better life (less taxes, a more equitable distribution of charges, etc.).

THE TRUTH: In three months of de Gaulle government, those with eyes to see have been grievously disillusioned on all counts, for:

- De Gaulle has taken no step toward peace in Algeria. He has seemed to perpetuate its present status by the inconsequential offer of immediate independence to the much less developed black African territories. War and terrorism continue worse than ever before.
- The "new men" around de Gaulle are Guy Mollet, Georges Bidault, Pierre Pflimlin and Antoine Pinay. As for the truly new men not before in government, and those who most noisily support de Gaulle, one look at their faces, their past records, their present activity, is enough to know they purely and simply represent Fascism.
- The same privileged classes enjoy the same privileges (the recent Pinay loan was exclusively for big-capital benefit); prices continue to rise (France today has the most expensive gasoline in Europe, a little over $1 a gallon); taxes have reached a new high (this has brought on a great wave of discontent in the countryside in particular).

THE PROSPECTS: For these reasons de Gaulle is losing some ground every day, ground that can be won and doubled by a united "No" campaign.

It seems highly improbable that the "No" campaign can win a victory in metropolitan France against so many odds: the lack of time; the unprecedented Gaullist electoral pressure, even using blackmail: ("Voting No in the plebiscite means civil war . . .!"). But if it can break down the margin of "Yes" votes and show the opposition is a political force to be reckoned with, then it will fulfill a major political function and build a bridge to the future.

A constitution for a man on a horse

THE DE GAULLE CONSTITUTION, vastly increasing the power of the President, was drafted by Michel Debre, lawyer, Gaullist party leader and former cavalry officer who, as the N.Y. **Times** said, "temperamentally has never been unseated from his very high horse" and has concocted "a Constitution to replace the traditional political 'systeme' he so cordially despises." These are some of its main features:

- The President will be elected neither directly by the people nor by the Senate and Assembly but by parliament plus departmental and municipal councils and representatives of colonial assemblies—an electoral college susceptible to much political trickery.
- The President will not be responsible to the Assembly, the only house of parliament directly elected.
- The President will appoint the Premier and all ministers, and will have the right to make personal appointments to the army and civil service. He will have the power to dissolve parliament at will and to usurp all authority if he decides there is an emergency.
- The Administration will not have to ask a vote of confidence for its policies or to push a bill through parliament; opponents will have to take the initiative to censure the Administration, a step which would require an absolute majority of negative votes, all abstentions being counted as votes for the Administration.
- The parliamentary session will be reduced from seven months to a maximum of five and a half months.
- A practically hand-picked Consultative Council will superwise the "regularity" of elections and referendums and examine, before their promulgation, any "organic laws" passed by parliament. The Council's decision would be without the right of appeal.
- Parliament's legislative domain will be strictly limited to specific items, all other fields being covered by Administrative decree.

FIVE-YEAR FIGHT WON

Drop move to list Lawyers Guild as subversive

AFTER A FIVE-YEAR court battle the Natl. Lawyers Guild last week forced the Dept. of Justice to abandon efforts to include it on the Attorney General's list of allegedly subversive organizations.

The victory came Sept. 12 in a Washington, D.C., Federal District Court considering a suit brought by the Guild to prevent its being listed. The Justice Dept. asked the court to dismiss the suit as "moot" because all attempts to list the Guild were being abandoned in any case.

The case began on Aug. 27, 1953, when Atty. Gen. Brownell, in a speech to the American Bar Assn., threatened to list the Guild. The Guild immediately challenged his right to do so. In subsequent legal action the courts ruled that the Guild must have a formal departmental hearing. Last July 2 the Guild filed suit to end the threat of the list once and for all. It was that suit that ended in the Justice Dept.'s surrender last week.

NO HEART FOR IT: Department spokesmen said that the evidence they have against the Guild "fails to meet the strict standards of proof" that are necessary. The N.Y. **Times** said that the impression in Washington was that "the department had lost most of its enthusiasm for the list—or at least for the task of defending it in court." The Attorney General's list was first published in 1948, ostensibly as a guide to Federal agencies in determining which employes were "security risks." In practice the list has been used to smear and destroy organizations which opposed government policies.

Founded in 1937, the Guild came under bitter attack when it undertook to defend civil liberties cases in the wave of post-war persecutions. The organization now has chapters in New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Philadelphia, with many members-at-large in other states.
defend civil liberties cases in the wave

Guild President John M. Coe and executive secy. Royal W France in a joint statement called the Justice Dept.'s surrender "another notable victory for freedom of speech and association and independence of the bar."

SEVEN OUT OF EIGHT IN THE COMMONWEALTH ARE COLORED

All Britain is shaken to the roots by race riots

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

AFTER THREE WEEKENDS of terror and daily acts of violence against colored residents in Nottingham and London's Notting Hill, British complacency about race relations has been shaken to its foundations. The repercussions are broad and deep throughout the British "commonwealth of nations," of whose citizens seven out of eight are colored. Only its royal head, who speaks to her "family" once a year at Christmas, remains wrapped in austere silence.

Ghana's High Commissioner demanded protection for Africans in Britain; Trinidad's Labor Minister Granado arrived to investigate and report; and a clamor to limit immigration from the Commonwealth brought three alarmed government leaders from the West Indies to Whitehall for talks with Home Secy. Butler and Colonial Secy. Lennox-Boyd.

For the British government any formalized color-ban on immigration would raise more problems in the Commonwealth than it could conceivably solve at home, and is politically out of the question. But some find ominous the suggestion raised in press reports of the Whitehall talks, that the government might try to "persuade Commonwealth and Colonial countries to impose voluntary restrictions" on migration to Britain.

DIVISION: Press, parties and public are divided on the issue of some form of limitation. Of three MP's representing Nottingham and Notting Hill who have raised the demand, two are Laborites; others in their party are strongly opposed and pressing harder than ever for legislation to outlaw race discrimination.

Meanwhile Dr. Azikiwe, Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria, arrived in London and said pointedly: "Britain has always set an example of liberalism on racial issues . . . [but] we would not like to be in a Commonwealth where we were treated as second-class citizens." From Trinidad, West Indies Fedn. Prime Minister Sir Grantley Adams notified Whitehall of his "utter" and absolute" opposition to restricting migration to Britain.

The **Observer** seemed to speak for most thinking Britons in calling the restriction proposal "shameful," suggesting that its advocates "should logically demand withdrawal of all white settlers from Kenya." It said Britain "must bear some responsibility" for colonial conditions which cause migration here. The **Times** proposed more education about Asia and Africa, of which the average British child's conception "does not go much beyond the ideas culled from strip cartoons and horror comics." The mass-circulation **Mirror** launched a belated assault on the "plain ignorance" which it said caused the riots, with a series on "where they come from, what they do at home, why they are here."

BEGUN BY FASCISTS: Few now dispute that the riots were touched off by fascists, who selected for their planned pyromania districts where colored people are concentrated. As to how the numerically insignificant fascist groups could have lit so big a fire so easily, some sought the real causes, some in classical fashion to blame it on the "undesirable," "dirty," "criminal" habits of the victims.

The colored communities are bitter about the roles played by the press, police, courts and government. Britain's still lily-white government viewed the outbreaks with alarm, but not enough to send any minister to visit the trouble spots or to bar rabble-rousers from them. The courts have sentenced a number of Negroes to up to three months in prison for carrying defensive weapons, in addition to whites who terrorized them.

Negroes complained to Trinidad's Granado of shameless pro-white bias by cops in the trouble areas, and of being addressed by them as "dirty niggers" and "black bastards." An Irish worker in Notting Hill said these complaints were justified, and told the GUARDIAN:

"It always was a tough area, but the police have handled it in the past by being tougher. This bunch of outside fascists and local teddy-boys could easily have been handled before things got really bad, but they don't seem to be making a serious effort—all they've got here is baby-faced bobbies who patrol in threes and are scared to death themselves. Now it's not safe for anyone and the local half-wits are having a field day."

THE FACTS: The cautious but effective fascist theme to whip up a lynch spirit, in street meetings and in leaflets which kids have been recruited to distribute, is: "Protect your jobs—stop the colored invasion." These are some of the facts which the West Indian Welfare Service and a few non-governmental groups have been trying to publicize, with little help from the press before the storm broke:

A LADY READY FOR ANYTHING
If they attacked her London home . . .

- According to incomplete official statistics, which probably underestimate the outgoing total, last year 138,800 persons emigrated from Britain to the Commonwealth and only 51,300 the other way. Assuming half of the latter to be colored, about six emigrated for every one colored who entered Britain.
- Conditions in the West Indies, whence most colored immigrants come, are indicated by the infant mortality rate there—66 per 1,000 live births, compared with 24 in Britain.
- With unemployment growing, Negroes (according to a typical London employment agency) "apply to the labor exchanges without success" for unskilled jobs; when qualified Negroes apply for skilled or office jobs, "we [the agency] do our best but in 99 cases out of 100 employers will not grant an interview."
- Negro immigrants concentrate in small city areas, paying exorbitant rents for overcrowded slum accommodations, because landlords in areas they prefer will not rent to them. (There is no discrimination in London public housing, but the supply of public housing does not begin to meet the demand). Actually there are four colored persons for every 1,000 whites in Britain, and if they were not forced into ghettoes they would hardly be noticed.

CONTRADICTIONS: For those who have lived with entrenched jimcrow elsewhere, Britain's first major controversy on "the race problem" has a this-is-where-we-came-in flavor. Colored people here realize they will have to exercise patience while the most elementary, irrelevant and extravagant arguments and explanations are warmed over by the palefaces who don't yet know what has hit them.

But the picture here contrasts strikingly with the American. On the one hand, offensive racist expressions are still common currency in British conversation and publications—used as a rule in all innocence, for there seemed to be no "problem" and hence no need for education in common politeness. On the other hand, even after the riots, whites and Negroes strolling together or courting are still a common sight, attracting no special attention in British streets and parks.

While the debate drags on between advocates of strong, effective prophylaxis and those who would brush the specter under the rug, colored members of the Commonwealth "family" will have to pay a little more than before in blood and insecurity for the privilege of living in the Motherland.

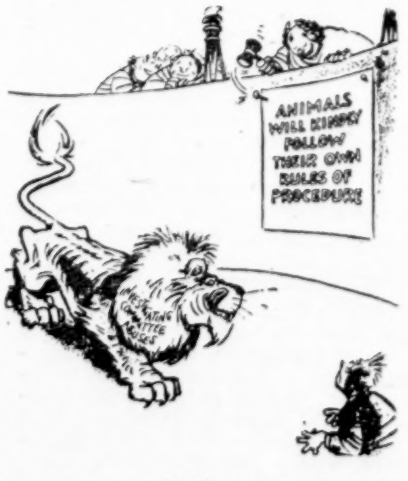
DEFIED UN-AMERICANS IN BRIDGEPORT

Gilden wins reinstatement to job

BERT GILDEN, onetime director of the Connecticut People's Party, affiliated with the Progressive Party, has won an arbitration award against the Singer Manufacturing Co. of Bridgeport which fired him Oct. 9, 1956, for invoking the Fifth Amendment under questioning by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

At the time of Gilden's dismissal his union, the AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, refused to process his grievance. When Gilden sought as an individual to invoke the arbitration clause of the union contract, the company refused to agree and was upheld by the Natl. Labor Relations Board. Through Stamford attorney Samuel Gruber, Gilden took the case to the state Superior Court, which affirmed his right to arbitration. The Singer Co.'s appeal was rejected by the state Supreme Court of Errors and the arbitration was ordered.

The arbitrator, Sidney L. Kahn of New York City, ruled that the case contained no factors "necessary to sustain the discharge." He thrust aside a technical reason for the firing, that Gilden had falsified an employment record, as "de minimus" and as an afterthought and "merely a pretext for discharge."


ANIMALS WILL KINDLY FOLLOW THEIR OWN RULES OF PROCEDURE

Herblock in Washington Post
"Fair is fair."

GETS BACK PAY: Gilden was ordered restored to his job with back pay up to a point when he would have been laid off in January, 1957. The Singer Co. was further ordered to rehire Gilden without loss of seniority when the company rehires employes now on lay-off status.

Gilden called the Kahn decision "a vindication of my original refusal to be a party to any attempt . . . to infringe upon the individual's freedom of thought and association guaranteed by the Bill of Rights," but said that his satisfaction was "dampened" by the fact that four other Bridgeport workers were still out of jobs from which they were fired by General Electric for invoking their Constitutional rights in the same hearing.

The war for Jenkins' ear

ABOUT 200 YEARS AGO, after the Spaniards cut an ear off a no-good English seaman named Jenkins, Britain got into a war with Spain that was known as "the war of Jenkins' ear." If the U.S. gets into a war over the Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu, its cause will be equally fantastic and even less popular.

For the Quemoy and Matsu problem has been deliberately manufactured by the United States with its ambition to have a base right on the shores of the Communist world. How would the U.S. like it, if Russia grabbed Cuba?

Formosa, formerly a colony of Japan, is 100 miles off the Chinese coast and provides sanctuary for the farcical Chiang Kai-shek regime which drags out its shadowy existence thanks to the enormous spendings of the American taxpayer.

The two rocky little islands of Q & M, only a few miles off the Chinese coast, were seized and fortified by Chiang on American urging. The avowed reason was that these would be a jump-off place for Chiang's reconquest of China—a lunatic dream long since exploded.

Now the Chinese Communists are taking steps to remove this threat right on their own doorstep. To call this aggression is total nonsense.

Today's world is far too small and far too dangerous for bully-boy behavior in international affairs. The Americans were asking for trouble in trying to put military bases on the very shores of China.

Peace is hard enough to come by and retain even when nations exercise some common sense and reasonable tact. But it certainly can't long survive stunts like the Q and M affair.

We don't like Communism, and the Communists most of the time are objectionable and troublesome. But neither Heaven nor Mankind has given the United States the assignment of running all the rest of the world.

Uncle Sam's nose is getting too long for his own good.

—**The Financial Post**, Toronto, Aug. 20, 1958

WORKERS AND STUDENTS DEMAND A NEW DEAL

There's a brisk new spirit stirring Mexico

By John Hill

Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

IN A FEW short weeks, the political landscape of Mexico has changed drastically. When incoming President Adolfo Lopez Mateos enters the National Palace on December 1, he will have to deal with organized forces which were only trends on election day. The hope is that he will represent these forces rather than try to repress them.

These things have happened in a two-week period:

- A new kind of Mexican labor leader, Demetrio Vallejo Martinez, was triumphantly installed as general secretary of the 100,000-strong railroad workers union, the first rank-and-file worker in the history of the union to be directly elected to the post by his fellows.
- Tens of thousands of students, who over a previous weekend had paralyzed Mexico City's transportation system by seizing scores of buses, conducted a huge and highly disciplined demonstration through the center of town in their campaign against a fare rise.
- The government finally expropriated the 650,000-acre cattle empire of Cananea in the state of Sonora, property of the American heirs of the 19th century robber baron William C. Greene, site of the first great strike of Mexican labor in 1906, which for 40 years had defied the provisions of the Mexican Constitution and agrarian laws.
- Mexican national capital flexed its muscles in an unprecedented way when a group of Mexican businessmen and industrialists bought out the foreign owners of the principal telephone company in the country. Until Aug. 18, 74% of the shares of Teléfonos de México had belonged in equal parts to the Intl. Telephone & Telegraph Corp. of New York and to a subsidiary of L. M. Ericcson of Sweden, with the rest already in Mexican hands.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT: The main strand in this fabric of events is the rejuvenation of the Mexican labor movement. That began earlier this year with the strikes of telegraph operators and primary school teachers which were fought and won despite the opposition and sabotage of the official union leaders. However, these strikes turned out to be merely a prelude to the movement that took hold among the railroad workers and which has changed the complexion of one of Mexico's largest and most important unions.

One of the most significant consequences of this upheaval is the fresh breath of democracy it has brought. The constitution of the railroad workers union, like those of many Mexican labor organizations, only permitted indirect elections to the top posts. This system facilitated the imposition, sometimes by force, of venal leaders who raided the union treasuries or aspired to political office. Meanwhile, the cost of living rose much faster than wages.

UNIVERSITARIOS

50,000 TOOK PART IN THIS MARCH IN MEXICO CITY

They were protesting the increase in the city's bus fares

Of all the major industry groups, the pay of railway workers proportionately advanced least. And it looked as if the history of their disappointments was about to repeat itself earlier this year when the general secretary of the union, Samuel Ortega Hernandez, who had been nominated by the governing party as one of its senatorial candidates, arbitrarily reduced the demand for a 350 peso wage increase, formulated by a union commission composed of workers and not officials, to 200 pesos ($16). Moreover, it appeared that the national railroad administration was unwilling to grant much more than half this amount.

BIG SURPRISE: But then the unexpected happened. On June 26 the workers in all but two states, where they were not notified in time, stopped for two hours to enforce the demand of their wage commission. At the same time a movement spread with brush-fire speed throughout the union to repudiate Ortega and all the local leaders who had supported him. On succeeding days, four, six and eight-hour stoppages took place, until President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines intervened and reached an agreement directly with the workers' commission, providing for a 215 peso a month increase.

This was a formidable victory, not only because of the amount of the raise won, but because it was granted long before the expiration of the union contract. But there was more to come. During the week of stoppages, the heads of over half the union locals throughout the country had been thrown out of office and new leaders chosen. With their wage demand settled, the first order of business of the commission became the ouster of Ortega.

Two days after the general elections, in which Ortega gained his senatorship, he and the entire executive committee of the union dramatically resigned—to be replaced immediately by their deputies.

This switch was designed to keep the union business in the family. But a special convention elected a brand-new executive committee, headed by Demetrio Vallejo Martinez, leader of the wage commission. Then came a period of wrangling over which of the two bodies would obtain government recognition.

The impossibility of salvaging the old order became clear on July 26 when the workers stopped for one hour, conclusively demonstrating their support of Vallejo. Still the negotiations with the government continued fruitlessly. On legal grounds, the Labor Dept. refused to recognize Vallejo and his fellow officers. On July 31, the workers struck for two hours, the next day for three, the next for five. The authorities compounded their error by an attempt to repress the movement.

60,000 TO 7: On Aug. 2, police invaded the offices of locals occupied by Vallejo followers, and the army took possession of all railway facilities. Twenty minutes later the locomotives in the railroad yards of Mexico City emitted three long blasts and a short one: General Strike. A message from Vallejo halted operations throughout the country.

More arrests followed, workers were dismissed, but the trains didn't run. Vallejo was called in for further negotiations, the President intervened again, and on Aug. 6 the demands of the new leadership were finally accepted. Direct elections were agreed on to select new national and local committees, all arrested were freed, all dismissed were rehired with back pay.

The trains ran again and the elections took place under the supervision of a commission of representatives of both factions and the government, with Vallejo pitted against Ortega's substitute. The vote, officially certified: 59,759 for Vallejo to seven for him who caused all the trouble, as one reporter put it.

NEW SPIRIT: The railroad worker spirit is apparent in the current fight of the oil workers to purge their union of corrupt leaders and in the movement launched by the students directed not only against a fare increase but demanding city ownership of Mexico City's anachronistic system of 96 private bus lines.

But by the first week of September the government was acting tough again. Officials banned a mass rally called by a progressive faction of the primary teachers union in Mexico City and called out Federal troops, firemen and police riot squads to enforce the ban.

The resulting disturbances raged through the heart of the city into the night. On Sept. 7 casualties from tear gas poisoning and police beatings were listed at more than 300. Fifteen persons were on the critical list. There were 250 arrests.

But the new spirit sweeping the union movement persists and will have to be reckoned with by the incoming government of Adolfo Lopez Mateos.

THE CHEYENNE STORY

A mission of conscience

THE UNIVERSITY of Chicago on Fri., Aug. 29, awarded a Master of Arts degree in history, in absentia, to a young American scholar. The recipient, Kenneth Calkins, and his wife Ellanor had left Chicago on a mission of conscience. When the degree was granted they were securely lodged in Wyoming's Laramie County jail. Two days later they celebrated their first wedding anniversary and quietly went about serving their 104-day sentences.

The charge against the Calkins couple was trespassing. But their "crime," in the eyes of the Justice of the Peace who sentenced them and of those who stake the nation's future on the might of its weapons, was far more reprehensible. On Aug. 18 they had gone to the site northeast of Cheyenne where the Air Force is preparing to launch Atlas Inter-continental ballistic missiles.

Military police stopped them as they tried to enter the site to talk to workers and disribute leaflets against war. They were held for several hours. When, after, they sat down in a vehicle entrance, truck drivers dragged them aside. One driver kicked Kenneth Calkins several times.

HIT BY TRUCK: The next day they returned with Arthur Springer of Brooklyn, N.Y., and Rev. Theodore Olson, a Baptist minister of Fallsington, Pa. Calkins again sat down at the road gate and this time he was joined by Rev. Olson. Repeatedly truck drivers and construction workers dragged them away and each time they returned. Finally a foreman signalled a large gravel truck forward and it ran into Kenneth Calkins, fracturing his pelvis.

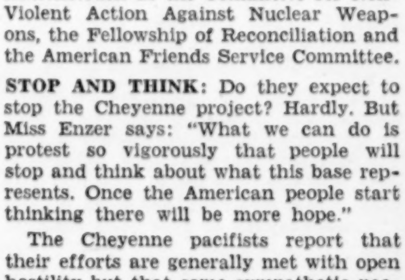
All four pacifists were arrested. Calkins spent ten days in the hospital and was then moved to the jail where he joined his wife and Rev. Olson.

Springer, who pleaded not guilty, remained at liberty on $450 bond and used his freedom to solicit support from pacifist and other peace groups around the country. He and Olson had been the first to arrive in Cheyenne, in mid-June, to organize the protest and they were determined to carry on.

SILENT PATROLS: Others came to join the little group in Cheyenne—not in great numbers, but singly and in pairs. Three students, Bruce Benner, Ross Flanagan and Richard Pierce, came from the San Francisco Bay area. A 20-year-old Air Force veteran, John White, came from Lansdowne, Pa. Erica Enzer joined the group from Chicago, and Lawrence Scott from Philadelphia.

Efforts to obstruct construction were replaced by silent patrols at the site from dawn to dusk, by leaflet distributions, poster displays and peace-talk with whoever would listen. Miss Enzer and White soon joined the others in jail, but the protest goes on.

Some of the pacifists represent organizations such as the Committee for Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Will these birds migrate?

STOP AND THINK: Do they expect to stop the Cheyenne project? Hardly. But Miss Enzer says: "What we can do is protest so vigorously that people will stop and think about what this base represents. Once the American people start thinking there will be more hope."

The Cheyenne pacifists report that their efforts are generally met with open hostility but that some sympathetic people have been discovered. They have found that "some workers who agree that missiles will not bring peace have said they are working on the base only because there are no other jobs available during the recession. Their families have to eat."

Letters to the prisoners and money to support the protest may be sent in care of Lawrence Scott, 2103 Carey Av., Cheyenne, Wyo.

BOOKS

Spain today: Story of the long night

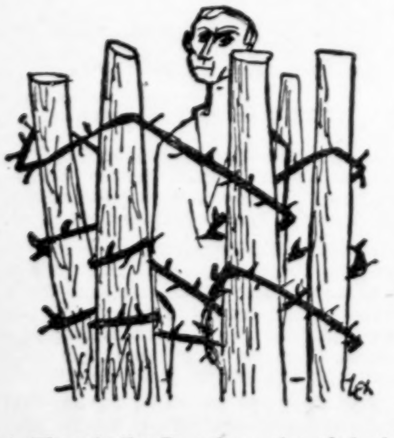
IT IS ALMOST 20 years now since "democracy" caused the night to fall on democracy in Spain, setting the stage for the giant disillusionments, hypocrisies and holocausts of our Time of the Toad. In those decades a new generation has grown up for whom "Spain" is a mere incident in history books and an irritating obsession in the minds of pre-war-vintage progressives.

For us of the "Spain generation," who thus obsessively bear that gallant republic's crucifixion closest to our hearts, a mission has been beautifully carried out by two Americans, Elizabeth Lyttleton and Herbert Sturz. They lived for a year in an Andalusian fishing and farming village, talked to everyone from priests to prostitutes and from fascist torturers to anti-fascist veterans, and put down a picture of such a typical community 20 years after.*

This they could do only, in the nature of things, by masquerading as friends of the Franco regime, and then at some danger to themselves. And in the nature of things it had to be a "novelized" story about non-existent La Farola. But it is a picture carrying the stamp of truth—unmistakable because the authors have neither sensation-mongered nor unfairly tipped the scales against any of the actors in the tragedy.

HERE we can learn what has been almost hidden from us ever since Hitler wired his congratulations to Franco: how it was and is through the long night for the ordinary people of Spain. We meet the bloodthirsty village shrew whose denunciations, in the years of atrocity and famine after 1939, caused over 50 people to be executed for the Civil War killing of her brother, a priest. We meet Franco's Civil Guard of today, who to keep the people in line apply to selected victims such "mild" torture as burning the soles off their feet. None dare protest "for fear he might be next." Hatred and violence seethe always just below eruption point.

Corruption rules, and we meet the petty Falangists and community "leaders" who stink of it. The schoolmaster who, beneath a huge Franco portrait, beats into his pupils "the inspiring life and death of Mussolini." ("The Spanish schools now teach that the earth is round, but this is about as far as they have got. Though the Pope has acknowledged evolution with reservations, many Spanish maestros do not accede.") The "official" village midwife, wife of the Falange leader, who won't stir without a fat fee —and the devoted "Aunt Isabel" who delivers most of the babies for nothing but is tried and jailed for doing it without a license.



We savor the people's smoldering bitterness against the Church, which watches like a praying mantis over the carnival of exploitation, and meet priests both good and bad. When one priest is exposed as a seducer, the fury of the anti-Church majority flares up as he is pelted with rotten vegetables, ox dung and rocks. Another, who gives food to the poor and "persecutes the rich," is removed as a "Communist."

CHILDREN OF SPAIN
They reap the storm

We smell the "truckloads of orange blossoms" and hear the wine-drugged people chanting primitive Moorish melodies as the image of the Virgin, valued at over a million pesetas, is borne through the streets at a festival of superstitious death-symbolism. We enter the brothels which offer an escape from squalor to the daughters of the despised and rejected. There we meet the decaying aristocrat who blows his last land property in magnificent debauch, and the cunning peasant building a new empire of exploitation, driving his slaves into a frenzy so that they draw lots for the privilege of murdering him.

Death hovers over every aspect of the community drama, yet life somehow goes on in an aroma of garbage, fish offal and excrement. The burning sun provides crude sanitation as flies swarm over naked children and sweating field workers; in the evenings the street defiantly blazes and hums as the women stroll in their prettiest dresses with flowers in their hair. From the almost unknown outside world comes nothing but fuel for the people's despair, but the ancient Christian message of brotherhood breaks through. Amid all the physical and spiritual decay genuine love between man and woman, parents and children, worker and comrade continues to triumph here and there over the tyranny of anachronistic custom and artificially stimulated intolerance.

A TUBERCULOUS young man succumbs to police torture, and the picture ends with his beggarly funeral—yet on a note of confidence in the power of the people. They bar the way into the church to the hypocritical "leading citizens," and act upon the dead man's last words: "You should all get together and refuse to cut the cane." In the hills a band of "outlaws," self-exiled from the village, is gathering.

Here is the Spanish tragedy presented responsibly and three-dimensionally, with all the appropriate color and humor as well as warm affection for suffering, striving mankind. The authors have set themselves—if they have not always maintained—a high standard of craftsmanship. Most of the lickspittle press has paid their work the tribute of ignoring it. Franco Spain is, after all, our ally against atheistic materialism, etc. All of the "Spain generation" should take their cue from here: read it and spread the word.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

**REAPERS OF THE STORM, by Elizabeth Lyttleton and Herbert Sturz. T. Y. Crowell Co., N.Y. 303 pp. $3.95.*

WHAT ARE MARRIAGES MADE OF?

Distaff side of the bed

EVE MERRIAM has written a passionate book about the truths and hypocrisies of marriage. Without the poisons of hatred, she has given us the emotional history of the problems and possibilities of marriage through the scope of her poetry in **The Double Bed.*** In the book she tackles the Double Standard with strong observations on woman's dependency, its causes, results and its future. Most male readers will need a woman's guidance to comprehend the references to the subtle experiences of such dependency.

Miss Merriam does use too much punning on trite expressions, which over-intellectualizes her honest and wholesome sentiments. She also at times falls into the rut of T. S. Eliot's effete use of a one-person language of associations, as if to say "you figure me out; I'm very unusual." But her special strength lies in the fact that she is so representative of the identifiable stages all women go through that she speaks for us all and makes us more conscious of our identity with each other. This is an important step toward uniting women, rather than making them feel dis-united and antagonistic toward men.

BEGINNING WITH the affirmation of love and its untried emotions to be fulfilled through marriage and the establishing of a new home to replace the parental home, **The Double Bed** starts with "The Wedding Party," like a chorus of feelings and attitudes from the guests, and the unfaltering hopes of the bride and groom. Through the positive enhancements of the wedding night and moment before conception, the tremendous meanings of marriage and children are presented before the doubts set in:

Let the world stand still and go roaring through space
Fixed on the moment of our embrace.

The second part, "The Nest," makes contact with the realities of marriage, but still with the optimism of love and fulfillment through the relationship with the husband and then with the children. It is particularly tender when the mother begins to realize how much is called for to build the family, with a perspective of the future. But the negation of perfection has set in with a stunning cry:

Now you can be so busy that you won't have time to think.
Your dreams can sterilize with the bottles in the sink.

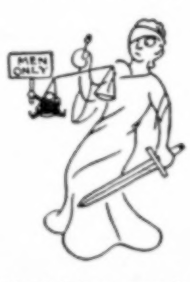
In part three, "The Alienation," there are unsoftened exposes of His and Hers, The Money Tree and Two-Faced Women, along with yearning efforts to realize the original love and enthusiasm for life and marriage. The momentum carries through the bitterest disillusionments to a new plea for solving the contradiction between accepting dependency and rebelling against it:

Some mornings I rise before the morning light,
Fumbling over the cold floor—
What in the world are you searching for?
The world.

MISS MERRIAM says No to negating marriage, and calls for a new appraisal of its unnecessary poor results:
and as future wives, the prime legates of life,
exposed to the truth of a body
and a growing body of truth.

"Toward Monogamy," the fourth part, naturally comes around to a re-affirmation of marriage, but with this difference: the rebirth will be by equality and through "independent women with independent means," in place of the low status of marriage and women caused by women's dependency.

Aside from its telling clues to the disenchantments of marriage, **The Double Bed** is of the highest standard of poetry. Using a varying rhythm consistent with each subject, and with the use of free verse in the modern form of rhyming at random, Miss Merriam has caught the beauty and tragedy of all marriage.



She has placed the trouble where it belongs—from the first naive lovesong to the exaltation of her vision of the future.

—**Phyllis Gaman**

**THE DOUBLE BED, by Eve Merriam. Cameron Associates, 100 W. 23d St., N.Y.C. 11, N.Y 160 pp. $3.50. A Liberty Book Club selection (same address). Price $2.50 to members ($2.57 in New York).*

LABOR MP FRANK ON CAPITALISM

2,200 hear Harold Davies in Ohio

Special to the Guardian
CLEVELAND

OVER 2,200 PERSONS attended meetings in two Ohio cities for British Labor MP Harold Davies this month and heard him call for an end to nuclear testing and a reduction in armaments. He said the only time the capitalist system can provide anything close to full employment is when it is preparing for war, at war or coming out of war.

On Sept. 8 he spoke to 175 people at the Unitarian Society of Cleveland, at a meeting arranged by Sam Pollock, president of Local 427 of the Amalgamated Retail Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

The next night, Davies addressed a Local 427 rally against Ohio's "right-to-work" bill. Over 1,900 members and friends attended this special membership meeting to protest the bill which will appear on the Ohio ballot in November. Davies shared the platform with Walter Davis, associate editor of the Cleveland Citizen, AFL-CIO paper.

A POINT MADE: It was the first time most of these union men and women had ever heard a socialist speaker. Davies said that one of the tragedies of modern civilization is that man has been abandoning the search for truth. "You might not like what I have to say," he said, "but if I get you to argue and to think, then I've made my point."

On Sept. 11, Davies spoke at a meeting of the Adult Education Assn. in Akron and then at a special meeting arranged for him at the Akron Community Services Building. The second Akron meeting was chaired by Joe Glazer, educational director of the United Rubber Workers, and a well-known singer and writer of union songs.

In his Cleveland and Akron tour Davies was interviewed on all the major radio stations and newspapers and appeared on television. His visit was preceded by a week of intensive activity in the labor movement on the "right-to-work" bill—Issue No. 2. On Sept. 7, 4,200 unionists from all over Ohio rallied against the bill in Columbus.

The China crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

ments nothing has been quite so sweeping."

PROTESTS: Dulles' hair-raising statement created a sensation abroad, even stirred some protest at home. British Prime Minister Macmillan tried to calm Parliament by insisting that Britain has no commitment to the U.S. in the Far East crisis; Labor Party leaders called his statement "obscure and evasive," demanded a more clearcut disavowal of U.S. policy. Australian Prime Minister Menzies denied that his government's military pact with the U.S. covered operations in the Formosa Strait.

Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), former U.S. Ambassador to India, urged the President to persuade Chiang to withdraw his forces from the offshore islands. Even the U.S. Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific, Adm. Harry D. Felt, was reported by the **Times** "to have raised questions about the wisdom of defending the offshore islands, the adequacy of U.S. stocks of conventional explosives, and the effectiveness of Chiang's forces."

Although the Pentagon hastened to deny that Felt had made any such statement, the report was too detailed to have been spurious. Felt said that Chiang's Navy seemed inclined to avoid engaging Peking's forces and that, in case of war over Quemoy, U.S. forces would be compelled to use nuclear weapons at an early stage. He was understood to have conceded that Southeast Asian leaders regarded Peking's concern over Quemoy more justified than Washington's interest in the offshore islands.

FALSE CONCLUSIONS: On Sept. 11 President Eisenhower took time out from golf to hasten to the support of "the greatest Secretary of State" he had ever known. In a TV and radio address to the nation, he resorted to a totally false analogy, and drew an equally false and dangerous conclusion.

He likened Peking's attempt to recover Quemoy to Hitler's attack against Czechoslovakia and Austria, insisted that the U.S. will fight for Quemoy and will not be "either lured or frightened into appeasement" of Peking.

The President's speech provoked even stronger reaction abroad against U.S. policy towards China. Typical of British press reaction was an editorial in the **Scotsman** which accused the President of "the absurdity of comparing a Chinese attempt to capture an island which is undoubtedly Chinese with Mussolini's grab of Ethiopia, Japan's grab of Manchuria, or Hitler's grab of Czechoslovakia." The **Scotsman** added that the really serious case of "apeasement" is the U.S. appeasement of Chiang.

NOTHING LEFT: The Dulles-Eisenhower position—unless sharply modified—seemed to doom the Warsaw talks to certain failure. For, by insisting that Chiang in Formosa represents China, by taking for granted that the Peking government is a temporary phenomenon, by making the future of Quemoy non-negotiable by permitting Asst. Secy. of State Francis O. Wilcox on Sept. 15 to say that the U.S. was determined to keep Peking out of the UN, Washington left nothing for China to negotiate except the disappearance of the Chinese People's Republic in fulfillment of Dulles' prophecy.

Since the Chinese People's Republic cannot be expected to commit suicide to please Dulles, only an aroused American public could force Washington to climb down to a negotiable posture. But, in a coast-to-coast survey following the President's Sept. 11 speech, the **Times** found that "individual Americans are not particularly worried about the crisis in the Far East."

THE INEVITABLE: The public is apathetic because, with rare exceptions, both the Republican and the Democratic parties share responsibility for the Eisenhower Doctrine, as Dulles slyly noted at his press conference. Liberal newspapers and thoughtful columnists, who have opposed war over Quemoy, have themselves created more confusion than clarity by refusing to concede that Formosa was a part of China, by illogically characterizing Peking's attempt to recover Quemoy as "aggression" to protect themselves from red-baiting.

No permanent solution of the Formosa Strait crisis can be reached through negotiations unless the unity of China, the offshore islands and Formosa is recognized, although restoration of this unity may be attained through several stages. As the **Manchester Guardian** said: ,

"Any agreement will probably have to be limited in duration to five or ten years; it may have to acknowledge that Formosa and the mainland are parts of a single Chinese estate. The offshore islands will certainly have to go to the mainland, and the Peking government will have to be admitted to the United Nations."

THE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES FILE PETITIONS IN ALBANY
R. l.: Annette T. Rubinstein, John T. McManus, Scott K. Gray Jr., Hugh N. Mulzac

New party in N.Y.

(Continued from Page 1)

FUNDS ARE NEEDED: The statement continued:

"We are confident that with the support of the many thousands who have already signed our petitions, and the hundreds of thousands of other American citizens interested in fair play and free elections, the Independent-Socialist Party will successfully repulse this attempt to prevent its taking its rightful place on the ballot."

An appeal for funds was issued to fight off the challenges in the courts in time to appear on the state's voting machines. If successful, the party will occupy Row D, with an emblem designed by artist Hugo Gellert of a hand holding an olive branch. Contributions may be sent to the Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Coincidentally with the challenges, an Albany newspaper printed a report that Independent-Socialist petitions had been circulated at a Republican Party clambake in Albany area early in September and that Republicans had circulated similar petitions in several other upstate counties. The Independent-Socialist Party denied any part in this reported activity and pointed out that its signature quota had been gathered by teams of canvassers who gave up vacations and weekends to complete the job.

Passion misplaced

THIS QUOTE from Yeats may be applicable to the Little Rock situation and the need for a stiffer backbone in the face of medieval politicians:

"The best lack all conviction
while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity."

Chicago challenge rejected

THE ILLINOIS BOARD of Election Commissioners on Aug. 29 upheld the right of a socialist candidate to appear on the ballot in the November election.

Objections had been filed to nominating petitions submitted by Rev. Joseph King, United Socialist candidate for Congress from the Second Congressional District, on the allegation that signatures had been forged.

At a hearing before the Board, attorneys from the American Civil Liberties Union represented Rev. King. A handwriting expert brought by the objectors submitted a list of from "200 to 225" signatures which he claimed were not those of the purported signers. Rev. King had submitted 12,000 signatures, some 3,500 more than the minimum requiremnt.

Washington candidates

IN WASHINGTON STATE a convention of independents and socialists in Seattle Sept. 9 filed petitions nominating Jay Sykes, Pension Union attorney, for U.S. Senator. Sykes will run as the candidate of the United Liberals and Socialist Party, with three candidates for state legislature. Jack Wright, Molders Union member who rolled up an unexpectedly strong vote last spring for Seattle city council with the endorsement of his union and the Socialist Workers Party will run for the State Senate from the 37th District, geographical center of the Negro community.

Mrs. Clyde Carter will run for State Representative from the 33rd District and Thomas Jerry Barrett, graduate student at the Univ. of Washington, for state representative from the 32nd District.

California conference

IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA a group of independents including Dr. Holland Roberts, who got some 400,000 votes last spring for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Warren K. Billings, survivor of the world-famous labor frame-up with Tom Mooney in 1916, and L. Kelly Mayhew, nationally known for organizational work against nuclear testing, have called a conference for Independent Political Action Unity for Sept. 27-28 at 150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco.

The Conference Call—whose signers are described as trade unionists, pensioners, working farmers, professionals, intellectuals and educators, housewives, students and unemployed—welcomes members of any existing political party and states as its aim: "The development of a political avenue for independent voters who feel that the existing bi-partisan political coalition does not satisfy their needs."

A tightly scheduled two-day agenda, beginning at 8 a.m. Sat., Sept. 27, will decide on political forms to be undertaken and will consider resolutions from participating individuals. No draft resolutions will be submitted by the Conference committee. The Conference has temporary offices at 245 Franklin St., San Francisco. Registration fee is $1.

Lamont challenges Dulles' policy

Corliss Lamont, candidate for Senator on the Independent-Socialist ticket, issued a statement on the Quemoy crisis on Sept. 12; following are excerpts:

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S speech of Sept. 11 about the American-Chinese crisis does not, in my opinion, make any more plausible or less reckless U.S. military intervention at Quemoy . . . There is not a shadow of historical justification in Mr. Eisenhower's claim that the Chinese Communists are behaving like the Nazi and Fascist aggressors of the Thirties in attempting to recover island territories which clearly belong to mainland China . . .

Who with any feeling for reality can take stock in the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine that U.S. defense of Quemoy, which is less than seven miles from China and some seven thousand from San Francisco, is essential to our national security? It would make just as much sense for Mao Tse-tung's government to assert that China's security depends on its control of Santa Catalina island off the coast of California.

During the past two months the Eisenhower Administration has kept the American people and the entire world on edge through Secy. Dulles' blundering brinkmanship . . .

MOREOVER, the executive branch of our government has increasingly arrogated to itself the power to involve this nation in international conflict. Under our Constitution, however, Congress alone has the right to declare war. But we have now reached the point where the President, through a **fait accompli** of military intervention that utilizes nuclear weapons, can commit Congress and this country to a horrible hydrogen-bomb world war. Thus we have a species of executive **dictatorship** as regards the most important question a people can face—the question of going to war.

The American people have had enough of this high-handed policy and enough of dangerous Dulles interventionism all over the world.

IN MEMORY OF

EILEEN REITER

Beloved daughter, sister, niece, cousin and granddaughter

Born: July 31, 1942 Died: Aug. 27, 1958

May her love be continued in those she loved most —and for all humanity.

IN MEMORIAM

MRS. EDITH RAY

A valiant and wonderful spirit
She will be remembered always

Died Sept. 24, 1956

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Carl Haessler honored on 70th birthday

DETROITERS and others from elsewhere in the U.S. and abroad were sponsors of a 70th birthday celebration Sat., Sept. 20, for Carl Haessler long-time labor journalist and founder and editor for 20 years of Federated Press until its closing in 1956 Among the sponsors were Cedric Belfrage and John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN, Anne and Carl Braden, attorney George W. Crockett Jr., Rev. Charles Hill, Myles Horton of the Highlander Folk School, Leo Huberman, editor of **Monthly Review**. Ernest Mazey, former State Sen. Stanley Nowak, Judge Patrick O'Brien, Harvey O'Connor and the Rev. Claude Williams.

At a buffet dinner at 7:30 p.m. at UAW Local 51 Hall, 11731 Mt. Elliott, attorney Maurice Sugar was scheduled to be toastmaster and Harvey O'Connor the principal speaker. Reservations were $3.

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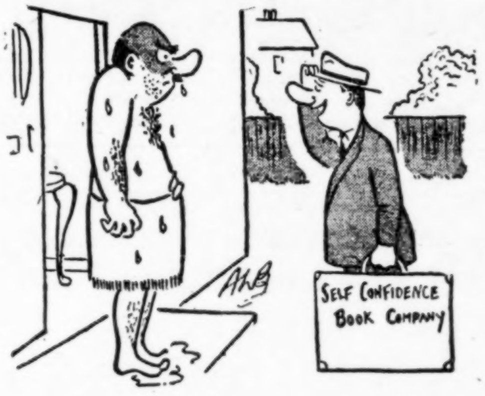
THE GALLERY

IN NEWPORT, R. I., GOLF PRO Norman Palmer is concerned because Eisenhower has been playing poor golf. "The President," he says, "seems to have more on his mind.". . . According to Walter Winchell the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee protested to the State Dept. on the designation of Jacob Beam, ambassador to Poland, as our representative in negotiations with China. "They claim his secret testimony before them last year shows a lack of understanding of Communist methods.". . . N.Y. **Herald Tribune** columnist Hy Gardner asks: "Have you noticed that the last three letters in the name of Maine's first Democratic Senator, Edmund S. MusKIE, spell IKE?" No, but now that you mention it. . . . An engineer in Denmark has invented a gadget that fits on auto dashboards. If the driver has been drinking, the gadget "smells" his breath and cuts the ignition. It can be adjusted to react to one beer. . . . Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz says that "if a weapon cannot be placed accurately on a military objective, if it hits civilian areas instead, it is just an irritant."

TO DR. HARRY LEVINSON, director of the division of industrial mental health at the Menninger Foundation, at the bottom of worker-management hostility are ids and egos. He says that managements are wrong in thinking they can head off union organization by offering fringe benefits beyond what a union might ask. If they do not provide "outlets for hostile feelings [of the workers], one way or another the feelings will come out in disguised or displaced form." Like forming unions. . . . One industry that has felt no effects of recession or summer slump, according to the **Wall Street Journal**, is wig making. A current fad for light-headed people, wigs are sweeping the fashion world. Doris Fleisher, New York wig designer, thinks that "actually it's a good thing to have; it's like an extra head of hair." Her brother makes an annual trip to the mountains in Italy on a "hair safari" to buy human hair. One woman he has trouble suiting is Mrs. Helen Lanier; she wears a red and white candy-striped wig.



London Daily Mirror

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—Robert E. Light

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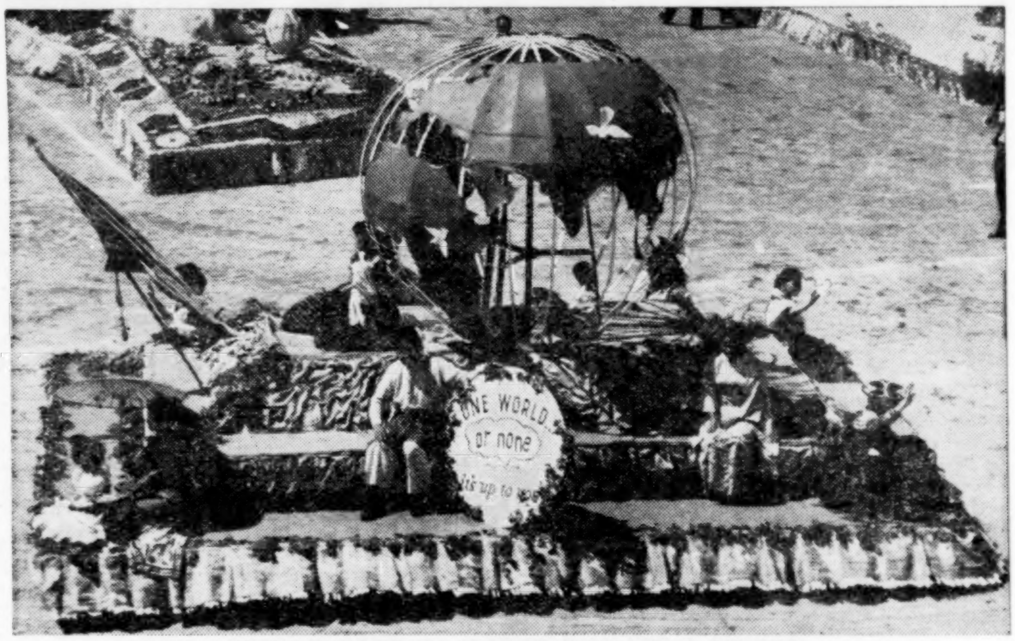

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- LONDONDERRY (Danny Boy)
- SOMETIMES I FEEL LIKE A MOTHERLESS CHILD
- GET ON BOARD, LITTLE CHILDREN
- THE HOUSE I LIVE IN
- LOCH LOMOND
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Press without a dynamo

The Richard Lauterbach Award, in honor of the late brilliant journalist and author, is presented from time to time to a person judged to have done the most for civil liberties. The most recent award went to Louis M. Lyons, a veteran newspaperman who is now curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard. The Foundation grants fellowships each year to about 20 working newspapermen and women to study for a year in their chosen fields at Harvard. Among previous recipients of the Lauterbach Award have been Justice Douglas, Elmer Davis and the Alsop brothers. In his acceptance speech Lyons gave an incisive analysis of the American press in which he stressed the need for "a bold press to prevent . . . the overriding of individual rights" and a "decently restrained press in dealing with private lives of individuals." Following is an excerpt from his address.

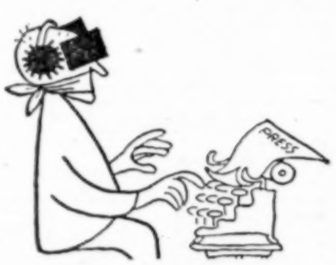
THE SIGNS ABOUND that many people are finding the newspaper too inadequate to the dynamic role it professes. Its function is being taken over increasingly by magazines and books whose themes are very often amplification of the too-limited news reports.

With too few distinguished exceptions, daily journalism in the U. S. has been watered down to a convenient form, easy to package and process and merchandise. Editors have gained high place for their talent in reducing the scope of their paper by eliminating its foreign service, by reducing its news to bulletins of a few paragraphs.

What is the result? That television captures the attention of millions wih hour-long developments of the background of the news that has been scamped in most newspapers.

The N.Y. **Times**, our pre-eminent newspaper, contributed a great service under Ochs in standing against the prevailing yellow journalism of his early days, and dedicating itself wholeheartedly to the factual presentation of the news. With high motive to ensure the independence and uncolored objectivity of the news, Ochs played down the editorials and excluded cartoons. A cartoonist could not show both sides.

America and American journalism are greatly in Ochs' debt. But the **Times'** great influence on journalism has been limited by the limitations of Ochs' view from an earlier day. Editorial pages and cartooning have declined and neutrality has become the pervading tone of the newspaper. Of course the modern business demand for merchandising the mass market has put a premium on neutrality, which is what lies behind most of the claims to independent newspapers.



THE PRESS NEEDS NOW, and has long needed, a new influence as great as Ochs' was, to increase the dynamics of journalism. You can count the reporters whc are exposing masks and the cartoonists who are puncturing facades on your fingers and toes. That isn't enough to be representative of the American press or to characterize it as a vital institution.

Part of the explanation, it may be held, is that the press takes on its coloration from the drabness of our contemporary public life. But it is this, of course, which demands a more dynamic press to revitalize our public scene. Instead it is in the large merely a mirror of a negative national attitude. The foreign news analysis of a great wire service reads as if it were written in Mr. Dulles' back office, where the view of the world seems to be a two-party line between Washington and Moscow with a strong inclination to hang up the phone whenever it rings and announce that it was a wrong number.

If the press can be persuaded that its only safe sources are those certified and interpreted by Mr. Dulles, its role is limited indeed. It will see oppression only when it is communist oppression and will see little to concern it about oppression in Cuba or the Dominican Republic. It will measure recession by the stock market and the sale of automobiles, instead of exploring the condition of the unemployed.

THE NEGATIVE, DEFENSIVE, protective outlook of our government, operating in blinders that can see only communism as a problem in our world of convulsive change, requires a bold press to show us what our officials fail or refuse to see. Else we go on in the blind alley, lagging behind our allies in seeking solutions to the only problem our State Dept. recognizes, alienating our allies with our one-track view of the world, dictating to them about their own trade, arrogantly demanding unilateral inspection of their industrial atomic developments, asserting a right to dominant influence on every continent — yet fearing to exert our influence to deal with the multiple danger spots that come within its natural range: Cuba, Algeria, Formosa, and the unanswered problem of the Palestine refugees, a festering sore in the Middle East. Meantime the immensity of need of the infant nations of Africa offers a potential complement to unemployed capacity in American industry.

We have the most conservative government on earth, both in foreign and domestic affairs—and for the most part the press contentedly accepts its timorous recoil from all the challenges of the mid-20th century.

—Louis M. Lyons